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A significant expansion of auxiliary personnel will be caused by the social work manpower shortage, the elimination of routine blue and white collar jobs by automation and cybernation, the increase in new workers in a declining labor market for the unskilled and the semi-skilled, the growth of Federal programs which fund the establishment of new positions in human services, and the spread of an outreach and self-help movement on behalf of the poor. Some of these developments will sustain and strengthen social work; others will pose new strains for it.

Auxiliary workers are described in three groups. A nonprofessional performs routine duties. The subprofessional performs tasks that are reallocations of the professional role. The new career or independent worker involves social agencies in the war on poverty; he links the poor with the services in the community. He is a peer of the client and thus acceptable to the client. While professionals have difficulty sharing attitudes of the poor, the indigenous linker, as one of the poor, can obtain information and cooperation from his peers. The relationship of the new career worker between his professional supervisors and his clients is delicate. He should not become professional but remain a peer within his own group. His main role is to bring rapport between the client and the organization.

The use of low-income indigenous persons in assisting their more helpless peers is successful in experimental programs; it presents an exciting future for social service and for employment opportunities for some of the poor.

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PROBLEMS AND PROMISE IN THE USE OF INDIGENOUS PERSONNEL*

Jack Otis, Ph.D., Deputy Director
Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development
Welfare Administration
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

I am glad to have an opportunity to speak on this subject because it is an extremely important one, and the minute amount of knowledge we have in this area permits me -- at last -- to become a national authority. There are some obvious reasons for the importance of this topic.

Right now -- not looming on the horizon -- there is a major crisis in social work manpower. The schools of social work have been improving their rate of production, but still graduate fewer than 3,000 M.S.W.'s, and last year turned away over 800 qualified applicants. At the same time we know that "some 10,000 to 12,000 budgeted social work positions remain vacant for want of qualified social workers to take them, and that another 12,000 to 15,000 new graduates are needed each year to replace workers leaving the field and to staff new and expanded services."(1) If we project present needs of juvenile courts, training schools, departments of public welfare, the armed forces, and public schools for which positions are not budgeted the full dimensions of the crisis stand out in even bolder relief.

* Prepared for the Panel on "Critique of Programs for the Training of Auxiliary Personnel" at the Annual Meeting of the Council on Social Work Education, Denver, Colorado, January 20, 1965.

(1) Cohen, Wilbur J., "The Role of the Federal Government in Expansion of Social Work Training," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Council on Social Work Education, Denver, Colorado, January 19, 1965.

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There is a developing trend in the growth of industrial technology which is eliminating at an accelerated rate blue and white collar unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. For youth, entry into the economy is becoming more difficult without college and even more advanced education; at the same time adults are being eliminated from employment or retiring with many potentially useful years of work life ahead of them. Recent agreements accepted by the union movement represent the creation of non-jobs. The salaries, rights, and retirement benefits of presently employed workers are enhanced, while at the same time allowing industry to effect labor economies by the reduction of work crews and the non-replacement of disabled or retired workers.

By the late 1960's three million new young workers will enter the labor force each year, as compared with two million a year in the early 1960's.

The VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) program of the Office of Economic Opportunity expects to train approximately 2,000 volunteers with varied educational backgrounds, many of whom are college educated, for subprofessional tasks in correctional institutions, hospitals, social agencies, public housing projects, community action programs, and the like. Under Title II, as administered by OEO, community action programs are required to utilize the services of indigenous persons, and guide lines have been developed which would seek to employ them in social welfare programs as group worker aides, public assistance aides, community organization aides, case work aides, and family counseling aides. A great many

other tasks as aides in schools and health services have also been suggested which will have bearing upon the practice of school and medical social work.(2) Approximately 5,000 such positions may be created through community action programs during OEO's first year of operation.

Additional resources for the development of auxiliary personnel will be available through the neighborhood youth corps and the work-experience and work-training programs authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act. For example, under Title V, which is a continuation and expansion of Section 1115 of the Social Security Act, "It is the purpose of this Title to expand the opportunities for constructive work experience and other needed training available to persons who are unable to support or care for themselves or their families." It will be possible, therefore, to train public assistance recipients as auxiliary personnel in the carrying out of tasks which assist other recipients.

Finally, we are at the beginning of a great social movement to make available to those at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder the material benefits of an affluent society, and to do so in ways that mobilize the self-help energies of the poor.

To summarize, (1) the social work manpower shortage, (2) the elimination of routine blue and white collar jobs by automation and cybernation, (3) the great increase in new workers in a declining labor market for the unskilled and the semi-skilled, (4) the growth of Federal programs which in

(2) Schmais, Aaron, "Non-professionals and Community Action," manuscript.

effect fund the establishment of new positions in the human services, and (5) the great spread of an outreach and self-help movement on behalf of and with the poor will lead, in the next few years, to the most significant expansion of auxiliary personnel in our history. Some of these developments will sustain and strengthen social work as we know it, but other developments will pose new strains and challenges for social work that may set it moving in new directions.

The strain, or lack of strain, upon social work will hinge upon the type of auxiliary to be absorbed. For this point to be understood what is meant by "auxiliary" needs to be clarified. I view it as having three distinct operational meanings which can be but are not necessarily related or continuous with one another. By auxiliary we may mean a non-professional, a sub-professional, or a new career role.(3)

The non-professional performs clerical, mechanical, maintenance, and generally routine activities. He may do mimeograph work, organize car pools, drive a car, keep the reception and play rooms tidy, etc. He makes it possible for the professional to have more time for the performance of a professional role.

The sub-professional functions on an assistant level, and performs tasks that are reallocations of the professional role. . He may help a client to fill out forms, determine formal eligibility requirements for service, carry cases supportively, provide assistance in filling concrete

(3) Ibid.

needs, etc. The sub-professional effects the increased delivery of simpler aspects of the professional role. However, the latter may not gain more time since he will need to give time to a supervisory process.

The new career is one which has not been performed, or has been poorly performed, by the professional. The reason for its non-performance inheres in the middle-classness of the professional, professional definition of role and function, and the function of the agency. The new career capitalizes on the lower class status of the individual as a positive attribute in the development of a new function. For example, a voter registration drive on the lower East Side of New York City in which professionals and indigenous community organizers participated led to far greater success on the part of the latter. A recent Children's Bureau survey showed that low income mothers can be used successfully in recruiting other low income mothers to parent education classes. The new function may make use of a skill the individual already has such as homemaking, or special skills can be developed during a period of in-service training.

These are overly simplified thumbnail definitions, but I believe that they are accurate enough to make a preliminary formulation of the problems involved. The non-professional and sub-professional functions are problems for the profession in terms of (a) careful agency delineation of the tasks to be performed; (b) allocation of financial resources and space for personnel to be hired; (c) provision of in-service training in the carrying out of the designated functions; and (d) allotment of supervisory time for the sub-professional in order to monitor the carrying out of the assigned role. After some initial inconvenience and accommodation all of this can

be done with little stress and strain upon professional staff and agency operations and provide a positive enhancement of the established agency function. Federal financial resources referred to earlier will make such manpower utilization in social agencies increasingly real.

On the other hand, the new career helping role for the low income indigenous person has in common with the non- and sub-professional only the need to allocate financial resources and space; in every other respect it is qualitatively different. It is different precisely because the individual's lower class status is in itself a skill and the basis of the contribution that he makes. Obviously he can be trained and utilized in non- and sub-professional tasks, but since these represent a differentiation of functions already performed by the agency his lower class style is either to be ignored or, more typically, transformed into middle class manners, dress, speech, etc. The more he learns to define problems and behave towards people in the way the professional does, the more adequate he becomes, and conversely, the less adequate he becomes in his carrying out of a new career role.

The new career role which is potentially a major instrument for the fuller involvement of health and welfare agencies in the war on poverty is that of linker or expediter of the poor with the current and newly emerging services in the community. Reiff and Riessman ("The Indigenous Nonprofessional") believe that many indigenous low income persons can assume this role because of what they <u>are</u>. (R. and R., p. 8) The expediter "<u>is</u> poor, <u>is</u> from the neighborhood, <u>is</u> often a member of a minority group. His

family is poor. He is a peer of the client and shares a common background, language, ethnic origin, style and group of interests which it would be impossible and perhaps even undesirable for most professionals to maintain."(4) All of this provides him with a kind of knowledge, demeanor, and naturalness of style that makes him readily acceptable to the client group as "one of us." Information and attitudes towards life, towards authority, not readily obtained, if at all, by professionals can be shared easily with peers who are viewed as really knowing what the score is. As paid employees of a community agency they are a sign to the poor that this agency really wants to help. As an outgrowth of such involvement I recently saw the most remarkable trust develop between the bottom-of-the-barrel migrant and resident poor and an upper class Bostonian. This relationship was initiated and sustained through utilizing a natural leader with whom the Negro workers could identify. One of the consequences of the mutual respect and trust that developed was the expanded use of the maternal health clinics by the poor. A few months earlier the public health district had planned to close them because of lack of clientele. The better utilization of existing services may depend significantly upon the extension of this new career role of the poor.

Thus far I have spoken of the communication process of the indigenous linker as one of obtaining information and bringing the poor on board with regard to existent and newly developing services so that they may be better utilized. A most important complementary function is that of communicating to professional and supervisory staff whether the service is effectively

(4) Reiff, Robert and Riessman, Frank, "The Indigenous Nonprofessional," National Institute of Labor Education, p. 8.

related to the needs of the poor. Is the physical location of the agency appropriate to serving the poor? Do its procedures help involve or frighten away people? Is the function performed one that is perceived as useful by lower class clientele? Is the office open at times convenient to potential users? Are the attitudes of staff perceived by the poor as helpful, indifferent, or even hostile? If the professional leadership will really listen the potential for improving the quality of service to the poor can be considerable. An evaluation of a pilot domestic peace corps project in Harlem showed that those corpsmen who were most "savvy" with respect to the problems of Central Harlem were the most effective. For the sake of their clientele, health and welfare agencies need to deliberately cultivate such "savvy," and modify agency operations as a result of what has been learned. (5)

In recent years, serious professional criticism has been raised against health and welfare agencies which provide only an "illusion of service" to the poor. While justifying their fund raising efforts as being in behalf of the poor, in fact their services and techniques for delivering them have been geared to middle class clientele. In addition, we are becoming more aware and concerned over the fact that health and welfare services specifically geared to the poor may be provided in such a way as to discourage and humiliate the poor. Only last week a newspaper in a large city called attention to this problem. A pregnant reporter dressed

(5) "Nation's First Domestic Peace Corps and Adult Voluntary Service Corps," Final Report Vol. I-III, Associated Community Teams, Inc., May 1964.

herself in cheap, ill fitting clothes and went to a public health clinic for prenatal care. The role she played was one of being ignorant but sincerely motivated to get help, single but not caring that she was unmarried. She was treated with irritation and rudeness by the intake interviewer, chill insistence that notarized proof of residence was required, suffered a wait of several hours each time she came with no opportunity to see a doctor until the third appointment, was shown to a "filthy bathroom" to prepare for the doctor's examination, and routed to buildings separated by a quarter of a mile as part of the application process. When her name was called in the reception room the male receptionist loudly announced, "Miss Wootten." Besides bringing the poor to a service, there is apparently good reason to establish for the more articulate poor a responsible role in sensitizing agencies to such problems as (a) the relevance of a service to their needs, and (b) if relevant, the appropriateness of the organizational style in the delivery of such services.

The new career auxiliary I have been describing does not typically render the service himself, but helps articulate the client and organization. This bridging, articulating function is one which necessarily makes him an agent of change. Change efforts may be focused on the prospective client to add to his knowledge and alter attitudes so that he may make use of a service; or they may be focused on the agency, adding to staff knowledge and altering staff attitudes and organizational procedures. This leads to a further point which has great significance if valid, namely that

efforts directed at the client may have a genuine, therapeutic dimension. The therapeutic potential inheres in the following factors:

1. A peer with whom the client can readily identify is in the helping role.
2. The helper's position in an official agency is a sign that the client can make the grade too.
3. Help oriented towards resolving concrete problems is better understood by the poor and can serve to reduce tension.
4. The helper's unabashed enthusiasm is contagious.
5. The indigenous person's definition of the client's problem may be different from the professional's and thus make a helping relationship possible. A supervisor of the Homemaker program at Mobilization for Youth has written:

> "Somehow Mrs. Smith was less forbidding to the homemaker than to the caseworker who was frightened of her. She was well-meaning, easily misunderstood, and temperamental. But she wasn't 'paranoid, rejecting, abusive.' Mrs. Casey was a 'fine person who cared for her children,' and that was the main thing even if she had four illegitimate offspring. To the social worker she was depressed, practically ego-less, 'so self-destructive.'" (Goldberg, MFY report) (6)

The use of the indigenous helper in a therapeutic role should be the subject of careful study because of its implications. If it can be demonstrated, the problem of articulating this role with that of the professional will be a considerable one. Both will need to learn to live

(6) Goldberg, Gertrude, "Untrained Neighborhood Workers in a Social Work Program," (mimeograph) Mobilization for Youth, Inc., 1964.

with and make use of each other's point of view, and to be permissive in areas of difference where knowledge of the right course of action is uncertain.

The qualitative difference I alluded to earlier in developing a new career role for the indigenous person as linker, expediter, and therapeutic agent, as compared with his use as a non- or sub-professional, should be clearer at this point. There will need to be an on-going two-way process in the delineation of tasks to be performed, the provision of in-service training, and the professional monitoring of the new career role. The low-income indigenous auxiliary should have something to add to the agency's definition of its own task and the way it administers its functions, to the in-service training of the professional by providing him with neighborhood "savvy," and in providing assistance to the professional's self-criticism of his own role. The analogy is somewhat fanciful, but we may be on the verge of a type of breakthrough in the "state of the art" in social work technology in working with the poor that is comparable to the harnessing of atomic fission for productive purposes.

A major blockage in this development will be those who are overly concerned about professionalism rather than problem solving, or who feel without evidence that such new careers will not help the poor. One way or the other evidence will need to be developed. If I interpret present trends correctly, the tide is against those who would actively or passively resist study and experimentation in this area. An even more serious blockage may come from those who romanticize the use of the

indigenous, who are swept on the crest of a proletarian ideology, without concern over its careful development, evaluation, and reformulation as a result of experience. Premature failure can set back a useful social invention more effectively than active opposition. We know that poor people can be indifferent, or even extremely punitive and exploitive of their peers. The problem this raises is that he will wish to emulate the professional and his style and to have just as many buttons on his phone. There is no intention to deny or demean the potential usefulness of this aspiration, but rather to emphasize the need to see clearly when this occurs that a change of role to that of the sub-professional is taking place.

The adequate performance of a useful role is the heart of the problem of legitimation. The social worker has achieved legitimacy through performing a needed function, graduate education, and the backing of a professional association. The new career auxiliary must also be legitimated for the sake of protecting the public interest, so that he himself may feel secure in the performance of his new role, and so that he functions effectively. Recruitment, training, group support, and supervision are key elements in the legitimation process.

Recruitment

The first phase of recruitment is the agency's definition of the role to be performed. This will then serve to define sex and age requirements, and relevant qualifications such as neighborhood residence, minority or ethnic status, language skills (bilingualism may be necessary) articulateness, capacity to tolerate frustration, and other personality traits. Interviewing

will help, but role playing with other indigenous persons in areas relevant to the tasks to be performed can be even more useful.

In the recruitment process, besides formal sources such as the State Employment Service and newspaper advertisements, it will be important to use community organizers, detached workers, public housing staff, churches, departments of public welfare, settlement houses, etc., in order to have a good base for selection. A significant problem noted by one agency which recruited parent education aides was that some residents of the neighborhood who would have been acceptable were reluctant to respond because they did not feel qualified to participate in such a program. This reinforces the importance of word of mouth recruitment so that appropriate interpretation and support can be offered.

Training

A task for training will be to help the recruit recognize that he knows more than he is willing to give himself credit for. The woman who has learned to manage a household on an AFDC budget may know more that can be useful to other AFDC mothers than a graduate home economist. The trainer should convey his respect for the recruit's knowledge of the neighborhood, its cliques, the attitudes that people have towards each other and community institutions, of what goes on in the streets and among youth, etc.

Training should be a vehicle for interpreting the role of the agency and the specific ways in which it is anticipated that the recruit will provide valued assistance. The relationship of the work of professionals and other community institutions to the job of the recruit should be shown. He will need to know how to hold and participate in meetings, to be

acquainted with rules of procedure and the like in order to work in and with groups.

While training should be practice and task oriented in order to assure success on the job, no opportunity should be overlooked to provide a conceptual-philosophic framework to the trainee in terms he can understand. The idealistic, humanitarian, democratic movement in which he is participating should be explained for the sake of his general education and to reinforce motivation.

Riessman points to some special problems that should be included in the recruit's orientation to his role:(7)

1. Confidentiality. This has two components, the need for the recruit to keep information confidential from non-workers, and to share relevant information with the employing agency and others. Long standing mistrust of community agencies may hinder him from doing the latter.

2. Overidentification with the agency and its corollary under-identification with the community. This is the problem referred to earlier of aspiring to be like the professional, of emulating the group in power. This will militate against adequate two-way communication because he will not be scrutinizing community agencies in terms of their inadequacies as perceived by the poor. The trainer and supervisor will need to help the recruit to be true to his function.

(7) Riessman, Frank, "The Revolution in Social Work: The New Non-professional," Mobilization for Youth Report, October 1963.

3. Acceptance of authority. As perennial recipients of formal authority, the indigenous worker will often feel negative toward and uncomfortable with the use of bureaucratic authority.

4. Over-optimism turning into defeatism. A number of experiences have shown that the indigenous worker expects quick results now that he is involved in a helping role. He fails to understand how resistant personalities and institutions are to change. The development of realistic attitudes that will sustain motivation will be an important task of training.

I would add to this list,

5. Relationships to intra- and inter-agency professionals. The recruits will not only be non-college graduates, many will not have graduated from high school. Certified social workers, other professionals and sub-professionals with a college degree, school teachers, public health nurses, probation officers, etc., will have natural anxieties over using these recruits in a helping role. Their anxieties in using indigenous personnel will be twofold -- over their ability to perform a helping role and fear of potential harm to the client, and over the threat to professional status entailed in the use of low income auxiliaries. The sub-professional with a bachelor's degree is likely to feel even more threatened and hostile to the enterprise. The recruits should be prepared for this development otherwise their morale can be shattered before they have had a chance to prove themselves.

The preceding strongly suggests the need for in-service training to orient the professionals as well in terms of their attitudes and behavior

toward the recruits, and to prepare them to make use of the special contribution the recruits can make. An often noted fact of life is that the gap between the professional and the impoverished is such that the professional feels much more comfortable and at ease with his counterpart in another country than he does with the poor in his own. Without preparation and continued in-service training the experience might demoralize both groups.

The agency administration will also need to interpret to the public at large what is being done and why, and along with supervisory staff prepare the professionals in other agencies who will be affected by the work of the recruit. Training will be the responsibility of the operating agency because of its on-the-job nature. This will make for considerable demands upon the agency to develop and expand a training and supervisory function, demands many agencies will not be able to meet. Agencies may need to pool their resources for training purposes, as well as make use of university consultation and teaching assistance.

I would agree with Riessman (8) that training methodology emphasize the concrete. Field experience should start early and lecture type presentations and book work should be kept to a minimum. Emphasis should be placed upon role playing as a teaching device, the building of group cohesiveness, reliance upon group supervision as less threatening to the trainee while at the same time making available impromptu individual supervision, and on using "an exceedingly explicit down-to-earth teaching style."

(8) Ibid, pp. 38-44.

Group Support

The ambiguity and resistance to the new career role argues for doing everything possible to sustain morale and motivation. Outnumbering the professionals would help. Group training and supervision will also enhance their feelings of security and cohesion. Group supervision is not only less threatening, but members of the group are more willing to learn from each other. I would speculate that the development of a New Career or Neighborhood Helper Association complete with insurance coverage and credit union would help them to achieve an identity and confirm their importance as a group. When they finally become C.N.H.'s, or Certified Neighborhood Helpers, they will have it made.

Supervision

I have already spoken of the need for ad hoc individual supervision and supervision as a group process. The supervisor will need to help the recruit with (1) his intra- and interagency relationship problems; (2) understanding the lawful limits of what the agency and others can do in a particular situation; (3) overcoming feelings of inadequacy and impatience; (4) recommending further education as needed; and (5) helping professional and subprofessional staff with their adjustment to the recruits. But where are these supervisory paragons going to come from? How will they be reeducated?

There are no certain answers to this question. However, there is a growing body of interest and knowledge about lower class culture that can be brought to bear on this question. Anthropologists, community or social

psychiatrists, social psychologists, school and society specialists in education, and others will have important roles to play. It is likely that an interdisciplinary team which can organize short-term training and curriculum development projects would meet this need. Their focus would be the reorientation of professionals, supervisors, and administrators to understand and make use of new manpower developments. Schools of social work can play a leading role in organizing such centers on a cooperative basis with other departments and schools in the university. Funds may become available through one or more titles of the Economic Opportunity Act for this purpose. There are already some viable interdisciplinary models in urban study centers, youth study centers, and training centers developed by the Federal delinquency control legislation. Many of these can be expanded to include a manpower study and training function. The Howard University Center for Youth and Community Studies is already heavily engaged in experimenting with new career training for indigenous youth, and in training programs for professionals. In addition, schools of social work would be well advised to allocate staff time for the study of emerging trends in the non-professional, sub-professional, and new career areas so that social work education and function can be promptly related to those developments that are sound, in order to build a consultation and monitoring function on the local level, and to organize a body of knowledge. The engagement of the university in general and schools of social work in particular can serve as important legitimators of this exciting use of low income indigenous persons in assisting their more helpless peers. Providing, of course, that this "revolution in social work," as it has been called, should be legitimated.

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